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EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS.

COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR EVENING TELEGRAPH.

The Union Party of the War and the Northern Democracy.

The political firm of Seward, Weed, and Raymond, like the sails of a fishing schooner on a new tack, appears to be shivering in the wind. It seems that these conservative Republicans, in cutting loose from their late party associations and in striking hands with the Democracy at the Philadelphia August Convention, expected something more from them than a fusion upon the same platform. A reorganization of the Democratic element with the amalgamating Republicans was counted upon with at least a fair share to the latter a Congressional nomination and gubernatorial nominations of the new party. It was indeed supposed that the old Democratic organization, with its unfortunate and unforgotten record of the Rebellion, was to be buried out of sight, and that the materials, with the floating debris from the Republican party, were to be recast in the form of a new national Union party, with a new name for its new departure.

It appears, however, that the Democracy thing has been done, and that they expect the Johnson Republicans to take back seats in the old Democratic synagogues as organized and governed at its Chicago Peace-at-any-price Convention. How can this be? The Democratic nomination or two would effect in the reparation of this mistake we cannot tell, nor is it of any consequence to know, since it is apparent, North and South, East and West, that things have gone too far for any party to be able to carry out the great Constitutional amendment now before the country.

From the results of the Maine election, the facts stand out in bold relief that the Union party of the war time longest last, and has been losing, but has been and is gaining strength. It remains not only intact, but as earnestly active as at any time since the opening bombardment of Fort Sumter. It has so happened, too, that the organizing committee of the old antagonistic forces of the war still hold the field, and that from such significant events as the New Orleans massacre and the unfortunate incidents of the President's late excursion, the public mind has been turned to the Union party in purpose of such a restoration of the Union as will embrace substantial and irrevocable securities for the future.

President Johnson did well in his conditions of restoration and leading the Southern States, especially in requiring of said States a ratification of the Constitutional amendment abolishing slavery and the repudiation of all Rebel debts and obligations. But why did he require the ratification of that amendment? Because without it by three-fourths of the States, the abolition of slavery remained subject to the will of the several States. So now, when the question has been raised in Northern Democratic journals of the unconstitutionality of the President's Congress, come further safeguards than his existing laws are deemed necessary by the Union party of the war interested in the validity of the national currency and the cash value of our national securities. Hence the Union party strength among the Northern people of this restoration plan of Congress, which seeks to make the redemption of the national debt, the repudiation of Rebel debts, and of all claims for compensation slaves, a primary condition of the land, beyond the reach of any Congress and any political party which future events may bring into power.

The Northern Democracy have professed their adhesion to the obligations of the national war debt and the repudiation of the debts of the Rebellion; but while the men among them who proclaimed the war for the Union unconstitutional, unholty, and unjust remain as the managers, oracles, and leaders of the Union party, all these recent professions will be accepted by the masses of the people who carried the country through the war as false pretenses and electioneering tricks. Against the war record of such men, as Pillsbury, who defeated the other day in Maine, and of Heister Clymer, whose manifest destiny is a similar defeat in Pennsylvania, their present professions go for nothing. So it is apparent from past and passing events that the Union party of the war, as the platform of the Union party of the war, will sweep the North against the old opposition of the peace party of the war. The new wine of restoration cannot be put into the old bottles of the Union party of the war. The Union party, more than it can be put into the broken radical crockery of "Old Thad Stevens."

The sooner, therefore, the responsible white people of the Southern States adapt themselves to the present state of public sentiment, the more they will be able to secure the approval of Congress, the better it will be for them. Their political and business interests, their political and social security, all invite them to the ratification of the Constitutional amendment without further loss of time. They have the choice left open to them of giving or denying the blacks a vote in their elections. Each State is left free to make its election of negro suffrage and negro representation, or the sacrifice of the one without the denial of the other. The rule will apply to all the States—North and South as well as South Carolina—and to every restriction in all upon the test of universal suffrage, whether applied to white or black men. In this and in no other policy, the Union party will be sustained by the North, and if the Southern States in good faith accepted it substantially from President Johnson, why should they hesitate to fix it in the Federal Constitution?

The Way to Secure Peace.

From the Nation.

Everybody is just now speculating with more or less earnestness upon the probable course of events when the new Congress meets next spring. Nearly two months ago we ventured to suggest in an article, which we believe many of our readers at the time considered almost extravagant, that Mr. Johnson would probably—
if a majority of the whole number of members of Congress could be secured by the union of the Southern claiming seats with the Democrats favorable to "this policy"—refuse to recognize the radical minority representing the majority of the Northern electors, treat the others as the real Congress, and, if necessary, put them in possession of the Capitol by force. All thought of any such plan was, however, indignantly repudiated by Mr. Johnson and his friends, and the fact that the President had entertained it was treated as a wicked radical invention, and the public was reminded that he had acknowledged the legality of the present Congress in spite of the exclusion of the Southern members, and that the Congress which he had so recently called into existence was a "Congress of the Government."

It very soon after began to appear, however, that the Presidential mind was beginning to be affected by the theories so zealously propounded by the *World* and *Daily News*, that the present Congress was a "Congress of the Government," and that it would be a meritorious act, or at most only a venial sin, to disregard it. He began to talk, in each stump speech, a little more contemptuously of it, and a little more respectfully of his own high authority position as a "Congress of the Government." At last he blurted out, what had probably long been fermenting in his breast, his belief that the present Congress was not a department of the Government, but only "a body hanging on the verge of the Government," calling itself the Congress of the United States, but being only in reality a "Congress of part of the States." This was a considerable step in advance. There is only one other to make in order to prepare him to treat representatives of one State which have not voted down the Rebellion and saved the Union as entitled to no share in the Government, unless they choose to admit to their body members from such States as he shall pronounce entitled to representation. How soon he will take this step we, of course, cannot say; but the precise mode in which he will make it seems to have been sketched out by the *World* and *Times* last week.

Both these journals have been a good deal puzzled about the claim of the President to exercise legislative functions in this matter of reconstruction, and have occupied themselves variously in defending "this policy," so as to avoid having to answer the very inconvenient question of how he came to have a policy at all. The *World*, however, had the good fortune to disentangle last week an act of Congress of 1862, fixing the number of Representatives at 241, and then rushed triumphantly to the conclusion that any Congress from which a portion of this number was excluded was no Congress at all, and that the President, as an executive officer, was bound to execute the law, and his law another; therefore he was bound to introduce the full number of members, if need be, by force. The *Times* the next day took up the wondrous tale, and told us exactly how the thing was done, and actually announced that Mr. Johnson would certainly treat any Congress which did not contain the full number of members fixed by law as what he in his concise and luminous diction calls "an illegal and unlawful assembly."

We need hardly point out that for the President to undertake to put members into Congress in supposed execution of this act, or to refuse to recognize as Congress a body which failed to fill its ranks up to the legal number, would be to deny it the power both of deciding what constituted Congress and of electing its members, and would be to put in the power of any State to paralyze the Legislature by failing to elect. In fact, the whole argument is that of men whom much trouble has bewildered, and who do not know how to save the catastrophe which is impending over the "policy" and its supporters. If the case they suppose should arise, we have no doubt the country will deal in a very summary manner with all these theories, and the authors of them, if Mr. Johnson should be fool enough to follow their advice, will be perfectly astounded by the popular contempt for their logic. The one thing which is certain is that the Northern people consider the Congress elected by the Northern States the only true Congress, and will see that its authority is respected.

We are now more disposed to take a hopeful view of the future than we were two months ago. The very fact that the people are becoming awakened to a sense of the danger is a healthy symptom. Such perils are met by preparing for them, not by ignoring them, and we have reason to believe that the necessary preparations are being made; while we know that the people are being thoroughly aroused to the situation. Two months ago, moreover, we did not know the New Orleans massacre, or Mr. Johnson's stump speeches, or to speak correctly, his speech, which he repeats everywhere with as much gusto as Mr. Everett repeated his oration on Washington. The mob at Indianapolis showed at a glance the difference of party tactics when they refused to hear the Presidential orator. If we could look at the matter in a partisan spirit only (as we trust we do not), we should rejoice to have a speech from Mr. Johnson on every railroad, and would have every speech printed *verbatim*, in large type, in all the newspapers. General Scott was thought to have reached the climax of suicide by speech-making in 1852, but it has been reserved for Mr. Johnson to make a record of achievement unequalled even by Daniel Pratt, Jr., the great American traveler.

This stupendous combination of folly and outrage will save the nation while humiliating it. The result is distinctly foreshadowed by the victory in Maine. The measure to use moderate language, but no ordinary phrases will be justice to that election. It was an exciting one, in which the State was thoroughly canvassed, and in which official influence and money were freely used. All the chances of gain seemed to be on the side of the Johnson party. The pressure which they brought to bear may be judged from the single fact that in Kittery, where there is a large Navy Yard, the vote in 1864 was 465 Republican to 181 Democratic; whereas in 1866, when the State was Democratic, but such influences are of less account than many suppose. Every town in the same county shows large Republican gains. And it should be observed that the victory is not owing to any display of military force, or to the absence of popular interest. The conglomerate party fully expected to gain one Congressman, and hoped for two. They struggled hard for nothing. So it is apparent from past and passing events that the Union party of the war, as the platform of the Union party of the war, will sweep the North against the old opposition of the peace party of the war. The new wine of restoration cannot be put into the old bottles of the Union party of the war. The Union party, more than it can be put into the broken radical crockery of "Old Thad Stevens."

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We regard this overwhelming victory in Maine as the precursor of similar victories throughout the North. And we are right in believing that New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and the West will take their stand beside Maine, the war-cloud will pass over, and the now rampant office-hunters will become mild as lambs. The Maine election will be a turning point, the election of at least 22 Republicans to the next House of Representatives; the only way, in our view, by which the country can be saved from the outbreak of violence. This is not a mere hope, but a fact, and we are confident that it is at least doubtful whether anything else will. We hope for this result now with more confidence than we have ever felt before.

We desire to add a word of advice to those conservatives and cautious men who seek peace by the means of a "policy," and who are influenced by the appeals or threats of Mr. Johnson's organs to believe that peace can be most easily secured by letting him have his way; and that they can help to that end by supporting his candidates. This is an utter delusion. The recent elections have demonstrated the absolute impossibility of carrying the North in favor of Mr. Johnson's policy. We admit that a temporary peace might be secured by the election of ninety-seven Johnson men to Congress, since they would form a majority of the members from the States legally organized; and the minority would submit at once. But no man in his senses, acquainted with politics, believes such a result to be possible. The one hundred and ninety-two recognized members of the lower House, the coalition cannot, by any conceivable turn in politics, carry more than ninety, while it is wholly improbable that they will carry seventy-five. The only way to secure peace is by the election of a majority of the members from the States legally organized; and the minority would submit at once. But no man in his senses, acquainted with politics, believes such a result to be possible. The one hundred and ninety-two recognized members of the lower House, the coalition cannot, by any conceivable turn in politics, carry more than ninety, while it is wholly improbable that they will carry seventy-five. The only way to secure peace is by the election of a majority of the members from the States legally organized; and the minority would submit at once. But no man in his senses, acquainted with politics, believes such a result to be possible. 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